THE RETURN TO JAPAN

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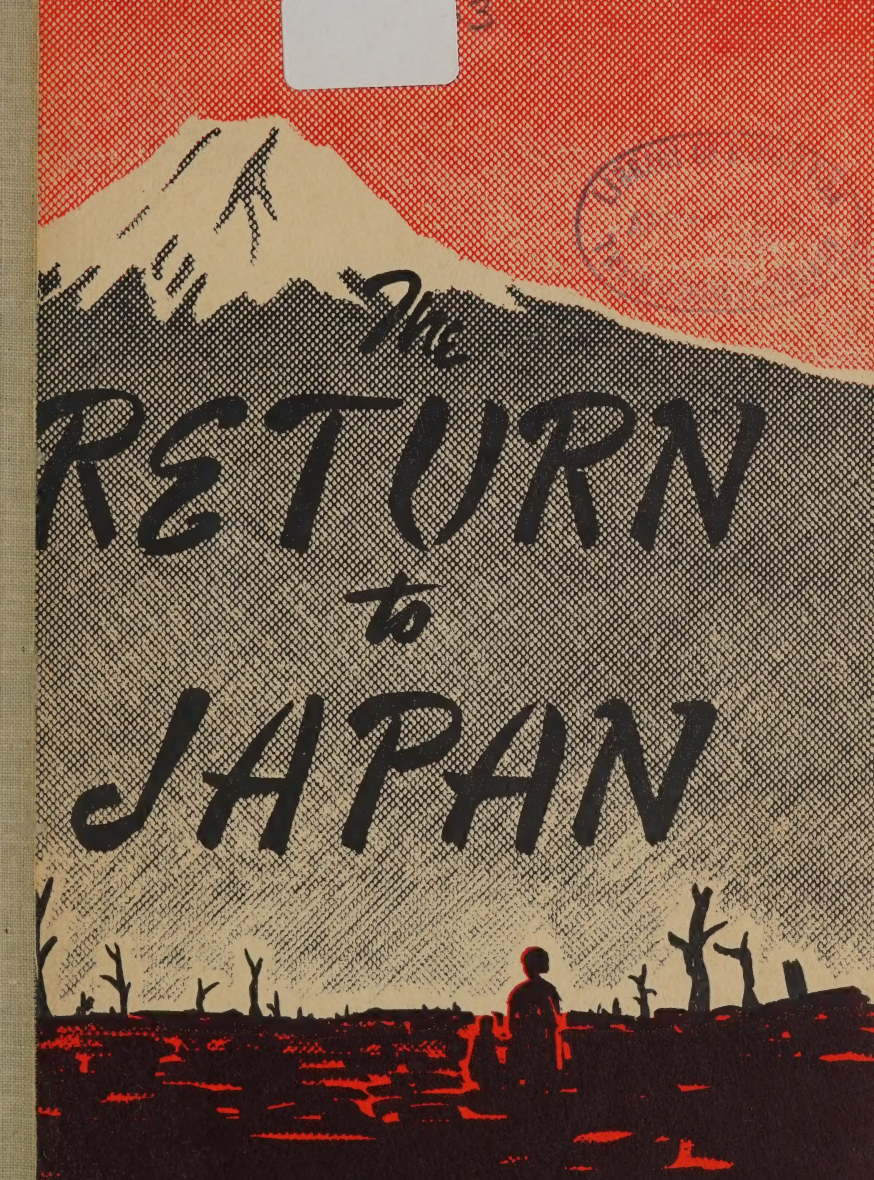

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Report of the

CHRISTIAN DEPUTATION to JAPAN

October - November, 1945

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REPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEPUTATION
TO JAPAN • October - November, 1945

The deputation:

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INTRODUCTION

Early in 1941 the National Christian Council of Japan approached the officers of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the International Missionary Council respecting a visit by a deputation of representative Japanese Christians to the Christians of the United States.

As the result of that proposal, eight Christian leaders chosen by the National Christian Council of Japan met in April of that year at Riverside, California, with seventeen persons selected by administrative action of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Federal Council of Churches.

Among the recommendations agreed upon by this group at Riverside was one to the effect that the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference arrange for a return deputation to the Christian Church in Japan. This could not be carried out at that time because of the war.

The close association of the group at Riverside forged strong bonds of spiritual fellowship that at the closing session were sealed by a solemn covenant of prayer symbolized by a token that was given to each member. The token was a little silver watch charm with the place and the date of the Riverside meeting inscribed upon it. Besides the charm, each member was given a prayer calendar for the use of the group in making their common supplication.

The Riverside fellowship was preserved intact throughout the four years of separation that ensued, and immediately upon the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific it was arranged

that the American members should hold a meeting. They gathered at Buck Hill Falls on September 12, 1945. Providentially, three days before this meeting there was picked up from Radio Tokyo a broadcast referring to the meeting of the company at Riverside in such intimate terms as to make it evident that it came from a person who could speak with authority about it. It was later learned that the author was Tsunetaro Miyakoda, former general secretary of the Japan Christian Council. It was the following passage in the closing section of this broadcast that crystalized the decision of the group to make a proposal—presently supported by the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference—to send a delegation to Japan:

The new situation has given rise to many new problems in the life of the Japanese churches that require an intelligent study from the broader point of view of the world mission of Christianity as well as of international relationships. For this purpose the wider experience of the older churches of the West will form an invaluable aid to the Japanese Christian movement. It will be recalled in this connection that the American church leaders promised in 1941 that they would send to Japan a deputation in return for the aforesaid visit of the Japanese deputation. That promise, however, has remained unfulfilled due to the outbreak of the Pacific War. Should they carry out their words at the earliest opportunity, it would be the most timely aid to the Christian forces in this country and would receive the warmest and heartiest welcome from Japanese leaders.

Before they separated, the members of the Buck Hill Falls group issued a memorandum which included this statement:

In keeping with the spirit of the fellowship and with the recommendation adopted at Riverside, it is now proposed that a deputation of American Christians be sent to Japan at the earliest practicable moment, in the belief that it will be heartily welcomed by the Japanese Christian community.

The primary purpose of the deputation would be to re-establish face-to-face contact with fellow Christians in Japan, to strengthen the living bonds of spiritual unity in Christ, and to take counsel regarding the common tasks of the ecumenical Church.

The deputation as later appointed consisted of Dr. Douglas Horton, Bishop James C. Baker, Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, and Dr. Luman J. Shafer. Although these men did not represent officially any of the ecclesiastical organizations with which they are connected, it is to be noted that they are respectively the chairman of the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, the chairman of the International Missionary Council, the executive secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the chairman of the Japan Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

The deputation did not go as members of their several denominations, nor of their denominational mission boards, though all were vitally interested in the work of missions. They did not go even as Americans, though all of them were Americans. They went as representatives of the ecumenical Church, which knows no denominational or national boundaries.

It had been hoped by many that there might be Canadian or British participation in the deputation, but in view of the fact of American control in Japan and also the nature of the Riverside meeting, it was decided that the initial approach should be made by these four without in any way affecting the character of later delegations.

It was universally felt that it would be desirable to have a woman in the deputation, but since the government frowned upon this possibility in view of the fact that no one could guess in advance what conditions the deputation was likely to encounter in Japan, the decision was made to

keep the number at four, all of them men, as originally planned.

At the Buck Hill Falls meeting a committee on arrangements was appointed: Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, chairman; Miss Sarah S. Lyon, Dr. Roswell P. Barnes and Dr. Wynn C. Fairfield. Dr. Warnshuis' efforts at Washington to win necessary priority for the deputation constitute a saga in themselves. It was only the unprecedented nature of the request that caused difficulty. When the State Department, the Army, and the airplane companies realized what was being planned they gave co-operation of the most immediate and effective kind.

Such was this co-operation that on Sunday, October 21, we (for it will be simpler now to change to the first person) were on our way from Hamilton Field, San Francisco. It took us thirty-eight flying hours by way of Honolulu, Kwajalein, and Guam to reach Japan—the first mission after the war to arrive there in civilian dress—or, as one of the Japanese later put it, "the first one in praying clothes."

Though we traveled in a plane of the Air Transport Command to Japan and were accorded the most unusual privileges by the Army both in transportation and in billeting, it was understood by all that we were not directly sponsored by the government of the United States nor by its military forces. Our traveling expenses were met entirely by the Christian churches of America through the Federal Council and the Foreign Missions Conference, and it is to them we now make our report.

We went to Japan in the belief that the one supreme need of the world is devotion to Jesus Christ and that we cannot be united in our devotion to Him and not united to each other. We went with a confidence born of a personal affection for Japanese Christian friends which the war had altered not in the slightest degree. We went as seekers in Jesus' name, fully conscious of sin, denominational, national, and racial,

in which we had participated. We asked now for the privilege of joining with the leaders and people of the Christian Church in Japan in the planning for a better future in Christ.

We went ready to discuss any matter which our Japanese friends cared to bring up, our great desire being for the solidarity of the Christian Church throughout the world. We wished to share with them such information as they might care to have concerning the American churches, their history during the war years, and their outlook for the future, and to learn the corresponding facts about the Japanese churches from which we had been separated during the long years of hostility. We knew that an innumerable company in the United States awaited word of friends and organizations, of colleges and hospitals and other institutions in Japan in which, in spite of the separation, they had lost no shadow of interest.

We made our approach in the spirit of the Message to Christians of All Lands already put forth by the American groups which stood behind us:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America express their gratitude to the God of the nations and the Father of all men that the night of war has passed. During these years of conflict our fellow Christians in many parts of the world have endured privations grievous to be borne. Their lot has been that of peril and of pain. They have seen the carnage and catastrophe wrought by war. Many have walked through the valley of the shadow of death. Others have been persecuted for Christ's sake, and not a few have sealed with their blood the faith that was theirs.

Through no merit of our own we have been spared the devastation of our cities and countryside, the destruction of our churches, the desecration of our altars. Nor have we been required to eat of the bitter fruits of tyranny and oppression. We are for this reason the more eager to share the grief and suffering which have befallen our brethren in

other lands. We are bereaved in the loss of our soldier dead as are the peoples of other lands in the loss of their soldier dead. May it please the Christ of Calvary to make us ministers of his compassion in a world tortured by the travail of war's desolation. . . .

It remains for all who have taken upon themselves the name of Christ to join hands and hearts in a spiritual reformation that will encompass the earth. To this end and for this purpose we invoke the aid of Almighty God that under the guidance of the Holy Spirit we may be instrumental in imparting to the world of nations those healing and redemptive truths of the Christian faith to which we are committed. Then, and only then, will there be revealed that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. . . .

We proclaim again and yet again our citizenship in a kingdom that is without geographical or racial division. We are one in Christ and our prior allegiance is to Him whose we are and whom we serve. We desire at the earliest possible moment to renew fellowship with our Christian brethren in all lands. Let those of us who say we are of Christ, whatever our race or nationality, demonstrate that neither war nor the aftermath of war, is able to separate us from one another and from God. For this purpose we shall welcome in our midst the coming of his ambassadors from those lands where only recently was heard the noise of battle, and from all other lands, both near and far, affected by the havoc of war. And, if desired, we shall send our emissaries to the ends of the earth if, in so doing, we may strengthen the bonds of Christian love within the family of God.

1

FIRST CONTACTS AND IMPRESSIONS

THE first impression of the cities of Japan which a visitor of today receives as he comes from Atsugi Airport through Yokohama to Tokyo is one of vast devastation. One passes mile after mile of city blocks completely leveled. There are many vantage points at which one can stand in those cities and looking in any direction see nothing but twisted pipes, chimneys still standing here and there, and broken tiles and rubble covering a terrain as level as the surface of the sea.

Air raids burned or destroyed nearly two and a half million buildings in Japan, including two million structures classified as residences. Bombs completely wiped out three hundred and thirty thousand military, governmental, industrial, and commercial buildings. In addition, ten thousand were partially burned or wrecked and a hundred thousand more dwellings partly destroyed.

We were told that one hundred and sixteen cities had been destroyed; but none of them fared worse than Tokyo itself. There, on the night of March 9, 1945, one hundred thousand people are said to have been roasted to death or, if they took refuge in shallow pools, boiled to death or, if they leaped into the canal, as they did by the tens of thousands, crushed or drowned. It was because these incendiary bombings at the heart of the Empire were so dreadful that the atomic bombings of two provincial cities do not seem so epoch-making to the Japanese as they have to us.

We were soon to discover that there is spiritual as well as physical devastation in Japan. A Japanese who is an old friend of one of us wrote, "Everything in Japan is crushed, smashed, or diminished, spiritually and materially. She has surrendered completely. She has no sovereignty at present, has no diplomacy, no army, no navy or steamers, no honor, no pride, no confidence, no houses, no clothes, no food to live on. I do not want to exaggerate the desperate condition of Japan too much and give you a misunderstanding—but I cannot give you false information."

It was against the background of this apparent collapse of Japanese civilization that our Christian friends with their limitless faith and courage seemed to take on heroic proportions.

Mr. Russell L. Durgin had arrived at Tokyo a few days before us. Having lived in the city a quarter of a century as secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, having been one of the last Americans to leave there after the war began, having now been brought back to the city by our State Department to serve as an aide in the Tokyo office, and having been commissioned by his chief, Mr. George Atcheson, Jr., to act as general mentor to us while we were in Japan, he, more than any other single American, was responsible for the success of our mission. It was he who immediately on his arrival had made contact directly or indirectly with the other Japanese members of the Riverside group and had given them such details of our coming that in a matter of hours they had been able to draw up a complete schedule of activities for us.

We saw or heard about all the Japanese members of the Riverside group.

Bishop Abe, who had been the leader of the deputation, was in Shanghai, unable as yet to return to Japan, and so we did not see him.

Dr. Kagawa had lost one fourth of his weight during the

war. He looked at times tired and haggard, but he is still the same inexhaustible enthusiast, still the same dynamic personality, still the same disciple of Jesus Christ. He had pursued his program of evangelism in the early months of the war, but having finally earned the suspicion of the police, was allowed to preach only in his own pulpit. He had felt that the wholesale bombing of Japanese cities was an evidence of non-Christian attitudes in America and had said as much publicly. The military were undoubtedly glad to hear him make these statements, but we are not to judge from this fact either that he condoned atrocious acts by members of the Japanese army, or retreated one inch from the standards of his own Christian faith.

Miss Michi Kawai looks much the same as formerly, though three or four years ago she was badly crippled with arthritis. She was a tower of strength during the entire war, and at its height in 1944 was able to secure three hundred thousand yen for a new Christian agricultural college for women.

Mr. Kozaki looked the same as ever. It was in the Reinanzaka Church, of which he is pastor, that we held our Tokyo meetings, for this was not only centrally located but had been one of the five churches in the city to come out of the war unscarred. Ever patient and conciliatory, he proved a most effective guide when we visited the cities of western Japan.

Mr. Matsuyama gave us the realistic layman's point of view. It was of great benefit to have him at our conferences, for as a man of affairs with interests both urban and agricultural he was able to interpret to us the mind of the average non-Christian Japanese — which he did with admirable frankness.

We should like to devote a whole chapter of our report to Mr. Saito, so much did he mean to us. He and his helpers labored day and night to assure the success of our mission. As skilled interpreter he served us on occasions too

numerous to mention. A man of broad acquaintance, it was he who arranged our interviews with the premier, Baron Shidehara, and with the former premier, Prince Higashikuni, with Mr. Maeda, the minister of education, with Mr. Yoshida, the foreign minister, and with the ministers of the Home Department and of Public Welfare. Undoubtedly it was his word spoken at the right moment to the right person which presently brought to us an invitation to an audience with the Emperor. Mr. Saito had a quiet way of fulfilling our desires even before they had risen consciously in our own minds.

Dr. Yuasa, another Japanese member of the Riverside group, had been left behind in the United States, which had been his home during the entire war. It gave us a tragic kind of joy to deliver for him a message to his wife after their long and still continuing separation.

This, with the addition of the name of Mr. Ogawa, Dr. Kagawa's private secretary, completes the list of the Japanese delegates to Riverside. While these friends furnished our initial point of contact with after-the-war Japan, our conferences were held with the Christians as a whole, representing all of the different Christian groupings in Japan.

Our schedule called for five days of various meetings in Tokyo and vicinity; then an afternoon, evening, and morning in Nagoya, followed by six days in Kyoto, Kobe, Osaka; and then a return to the capital for the remainder of our visit.

Our first experience with the Japanese Christians brought us emotions which will remain fresh in our memories as long as we live. We did not know how we should be received by them for, regardless of the issues out of which the war had emerged, we were citizens of a conquering country whose military had wrought unprecedented damage and havoc upon the cities of Japan. It was on our first morning, even before our arrival in Tokyo had been announced,

that we went to the Y.M.C.A. building and there met Mr. Saito and some of the officers of the Church of Christ in Japan who had come in from their headquarters across the street. We shook hands briefly and said very little. Feeling ran too deep for words, but in that moment we knew that our fellowship in Christ remained unbroken, and that the cleavage in our relations occasioned by the war could be repaired and would be.

We began our regular conferences with a Communion service in the Reinanzaka Church. This was administered by Bishop Baker and Mr. Kozaki.

Since our Christian brothers in Japan these days have no bread, Mr. Kozaki came some hours before the service to the Dai-iti Hotel where we were billeted, and from the kitchen there, supplied by our own army, secured a sufficient amount of the precious food to serve us in the Blessed Sacrament. Little can be said about the Communion service itself—it was like any other and it was unlike any other that ever was. The familiar words were read and spoken, but through them all were overtones of repentence, triumph, and hope, which gave us knowledge that the Gospel had overcome national differences, and that nothing, simply nothing, could in the end prevail against the Church of Christ.

Immediately following that service we met with about thirty Christian leaders who had been invited to counsel with us. It was there through Dr. Van Kirk that we presented to them a brief sketch of what the churches of the United States had been doing in the course of the war. As they had heard nothing authentic about us since December 1941, they listened with breathless eagerness. Trying to be as realistic as possible, we confessed to the failure of our churches at many points, but we went on to speak (a) of the action taken by the President of the Federal Council, Bishop Tucker, in protest against the desecration of Japanese soldier dead by American soldiers, and (b) of the support

given by the churches to the legislation abolishing the anti-immigration laws as they affected the Chinese people. On the latter head we assured them that after the popular hatreds aroused by the war had abated, we hoped to abolish the anti-Japanese laws as well, applying the quota system to all nations.

We told them of the work of our churches in the area of just and durable peace-making, speaking especially of the influence ecclesiastical leaders had brought to bear on the preliminary meetings of the United Nations Organization in San Francisco.

During the war the Japanese, Christians and non-Christians alike, had heard only about the worst features of the American national character. The rediscovery of the fact that the Christian Church in America is something like a soul in the body politic which, though weak and ineffective in many ways, does yet constantly point the nation to higher things, brought new courage to the Japanese Christian leaders. One of them said with deep feeling at the close of the session in a private conversation with one of us, "This is the happiest day of my life."

Even more moving to some was the presentation of letters which we had brought from America. These letters, all of them directed to the United Church of Japan, had been sent to us by church organizations from many parts of the United States and Canada. They spoke in unmistakable language of the joy which is felt by American Christians that the cessation of hostilities has reopened the channels of friendship between the churches and peoples of the two nations. The letters had been assembled in an attractive and sturdy binder, and are now being passed from hand to hand through the churches of Japan, carrying a message of reconciliation wherever they go.

The dominant sentiment shared by all was that expressed by Dr. Kagawa in a prayer at one of the early meetings. "O God, we thank thee that the war is over, that the clouds have

parted, and that the sun shines again. Bless the Christians of China, Korea, the United States and all the world, and build thy church, O God, not out of stone, brick, or wood, which may be destroyed, but out of living souls made strong in thy spirit. Amen."

2

THE ATTITUDE OF THE JAPANESE TOWARD THEIR LATE ENEMIES

ON our first evening in Japan we met in the hotel lobby an old friend who represented one of the great American news syndicates. He said to us, "You will encounter a situation here which you simply will not be able to believe—yet it is actual. I cannot write to my papers about it because American readers in general are not prepared to take it in." These words proved to be true; we expected to find no end of resentment toward us among the Japanese people, but instead we discovered that popular anger was now directed against the Japanese military themselves.

During the war Japanese Christians shared with their fellow citizens the feeling that theirs was a righteous war and that they should devote all their energy to winning it. They were loyal patriots as we in the United States and Canada were loyal patriots—except that their presuppositions were different from ours. For years they had felt that the friendship of the Western powers for them had been waning. American good will, for instance, had been at its height in 1905 after the Russo-Japanese War, but since then had certainly deteriorated.

1. The exclusion laws of the United States made the Japanese feel that we regarded them as enemies

2. They felt that as Anglo-Saxons we could hardly understand their interest in China. Japanese Christians did not at first approve the use of force in Manchuria but they presently succumbed to the argument put forward by the military that it was necessary for the well-being of Japan that Manchuria should not become a foothold for the Western powers.

3. Our export of munitions to China and the high tariff wall we erected against Japanese imports to us contributed to the general sentiment that we were preparing for war against them.

4. The Japanese people were not allowed to read the Hull note of November 26, 1941, but they were told that it was an ultimatum such as no free people could receive without retaliation. The incident of Pearl Harbor was, therefore, regarded by the people generally as the first action of a war already declared by the United States.

5. During the war the propaganda of the military had its heyday.

(a) It was believed by a great many people that Japanese soldiers captured by Americans were decapitated and their skulls sent home as living-room ornaments. Christians who knew America and Great Britain did not share this belief, but knowing of the G.I. gift to the President of the United States (and not knowing either that he had repudiated it or that it was in direct contravention of our army law) they began to wonder if America were not getting morally out of hand.

(b) It was the air raids, however, which called American morality into most serious question and laid the heaviest strain upon the friendship of Japanese Christians for things American. Allied military authorities stressed the fact that the large number of dwellings which fell victim to bombings was due to their proximity to war plants and to the fact that in every city home workshops for parent factories were scattered all through the residence sections. The Japanese, however, were

inclined to fix their attention upon the hospitals and other non-military installations which were razed by the raids. In Nagasaki, for instance, all but four doctors on the medical university faculty and the student members of the third and fourth year classes, were wiped out by the bomb which exploded only a few hundred yards from the university and its hospital. Every patient, every nurse, and every doctor inside the hospital was killed, as well as every first and second year medical student.

It is, after all, quite natural that the people of Japan, including the Christians, should have felt resentment in these circumstances against the Allied powers, especially the United States, whose insignia could be seen on the wings of the raiding planes. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that we should have encountered so great a change in sentiment five short weeks after the first echelons of American troops had entered Japan. This change in sentiment was peculiarly marked among the Christians but was quite obviously shared by all. The reasons for it are evident.

1. The Japanese now know that their own military deceived them. Until the very day before the Emperor's announcement of peace, they believed they were winning the war. They had tossed aside the pamphlets dropped by our airmen telling of the fall of Guadalcanal, of Manila, and of Saipan as enemy propaganda. The rank and file of the people, being told that the Emperor would have a special message for them on the fifteenth of August, actually expected that he would call for still greater sacrifices on their part in the war effort. They knew that their army and navy had suffered defeat here and there, but believed they had sufficient reserves to come out victorious in the end. When the Emperor's announcement came and their eyes were opened, they realized with bitterness that they had been duped by their own military government.

2. Then the details of the atrocities committed by their own soldiers began to come in. These crimes perpetrated for the

most part by men from the villages of the Japanese hinterland were read about with horror by the citizens of the greater cities where Christianity and the civilizing influences of modern life had been most felt. A Japanese Christian said to us in view of these crimes, "God is not mocked; our defeat is a just punishment upon us for what our soldiers have done." One of the members of the Imperial family is broadly quoted as having said, "If we had been victorious, it would have been disastrous for us and for the world." To such a low ebb Japanese morality had sunk.

3. The G.I.'s of the army of occupation have won many of the Japanese people. The people had expected the worst excesses of an invading army burning with revenge, but instead they presently found themselves in the hands of men who went about the streets of their cities unarmed, who were kind to their children, and who conducted themselves for the most part with a decent respect for the feelings of others. The situation is so much better than the people had dared to expect that hatred has been largely dissipated.

There have been comparatively few cases of looting, rape, and other crimes. The record of the American soldier is remarkably clean. General MacArthur said:

I admired the American soldier as we came up from the south through the Philippines and on toward Japan—his ferocity, his courage, his unflinching steadfastness in the midst of greatest hardship and suffering and danger. I thought I had reached the acme of my admiration as I looked upon him as a fighting man, but I have never been prouder of the American soldier in all my life than I am of him now in the occupying army. You couldn't restrain by law or rules hundreds of thousands of men. These men, however, have inner controls—controls that they learned in the American home, the American school, and the Church. They are our best ambassadors.

The Japanese people feel the same way about the American G.I. We could quote at length from leaders in government

and outside government who speak in admiration of him. After telling many interesting "happy incidents," as she called them, Miss Kawai said, "Your men are often very funny, but they are wonderful. They are gentlemen. We are so glad to have them here. I tell the Japanese women we must bring our boys up that way."

One young G.I., entering the city of Tokyo on a Sunday with the first echelon of troops and having time on his hands that afternoon, looked about for a church to worship in. On the horizon the steeple of the Reinanzaka Church was discernible. Making his way through the devastation, he finally reached the church, and entering it, found himself in the midst of a meeting where a serious discussion was in progress. One of those present, seeing him come in, slipped over to the pew where he sat and bade him welcome, in English. He told him that this was a meeting of the representatives of churches of the entire Tokyo district discussing what their first steps should be, now that the war was over.

As the young man listened to the speeches, translated to him by his companion, he grew more and more moved—and finally rose and said, "No one sent me here but the Holy Spirit—but I am a Baptist from Chicago, and I want to bring you the greetings of the Protestant churches of America." Now it was the turn of the others to be moved. They had not known what his purpose had been in coming to the meeting—but his brief speech proclaimed him a friend. They appointed one of their elder leaders to give him a formal greeting and extend to him the right hand of fellowship.

We cannot say enough of the work of the chaplains in their service to the Japanese people in general, and to the churches of Japan in particular. It is a marvel in the eyes of the Japanese that an army should include ministers of religion—especially ministers of the religion of the Prince of Peace. These men are helping the Japanese pastors to pick up again their life of Christian service and are working out many re-

markable interrelations between the American forces and the Japanese. Some of them are even teaching classes in the English Bible.

Chaplain Ivan L. Bennett of General MacArthur's staff accompanied us on many of our visits to the churches, giving immense assistance to us and to the leaders of those churches. He multiplied by many times the usefulness of our visit, for he remains behind to help carry out the plans he and the Japanese and we set in motion together.

Colonel Poch, who was the senior chaplain in the Kwansei area, had established contact with the Christian Doshisha University before we arrived in Kyoto, and on the day of our first conference there we had the pleasure of attending chapel, at which, to the great delight of the students and of ourselves, a G.I. chorus of about thirty men from the Sixth Army sang two magnificent anthems.

4. Above all in the list of reasons for the change in Japanese sentiment toward the United States must be mentioned the wise administration of General MacArthur and his aides. He knows the Orient as his father knew it before him—and the result is as sound a piece of social engineering as can be found anywhere in the world today.

General MacArthur's purpose has not been to seek revenge nor to crush by force. He wishes to restore the Japanese nation to normal life and to have it take its place, as soon as possible, in the family of nations. We can properly say that there is a spiritual purpose in the occupation policy. General MacArthur's method, to use his own words, is "to sow an idea —the idea of freedom—the freedom which roots in religion."

We were greatly taken by the regular army men and civilians in army uniform with whom General MacArthur has surrounded himself. The problems involved in the occupation are many and various—economic, educational, political, social, and religious—all of which the General's staff seem to be grasping with extraordinary intelligence. They realize that

their job is fundamentally pedagogical: they are there not to fight but to teach. A general in charge of one of the major departments said to us: "I am not the one who ought to be sitting here; this chair should be occupied by my sister who is the head of a school of education in Rhode Island."

The purpose of General MacArthur and his aides is not to force American methods upon the Japanese, but to impart to them fundamental ideas of democracy and then help them to work out their own implementation of these ideas. Everybody knows, for instance, that the constitution of Japan must be changed. There are men in the United States who apparently would like to write that constitution and then send it to Japan to be forced upon that country by our army. General MacArthur has no such idea. His executives and their committees are helping the Japanese revise their own constitution, and when at last it is laid before the Diet for ratification, it will be a Japanese instrument. A constitution manufactured in America would last as long as American troops held sway in Japan; the constitution General MacArthur will leave with Japan will be a power there long after the American troops are gone.

5. Importance must be attached to the sheer fact of the Emperor's will. The Japanese have tended to forget their resentment toward America simply because the Emperor has asked them to do so. We found that in areas where our troops had not yet been seen and where little was known of General MacArthur's policies, the Emperor's order had already gone far toward creating good will toward America. The whole matter of the relation of the people to their Emperor is one of such importance for the understanding of Japan that we shall speak of it at greater length in a later chapter.

6. Add to all these facts the consideration that the people had grown thoroughly tired of the war and that hatred cannot be sustained for an indefinite period in any case,

and you have at least a partial catalogue of the reasons why the psychology of Japan today differs completely from that of six months ago.

We are not so sanguine as to believe that this halcyon period can be continued indefinitely. (a) A possible change in the Allied command might bring unhappy consequences in its train. (b) A serious food shortage issuing in internal disorder would undoubtedly introduce tension into the situation. (c) Though the military caste is completely discredited, it is known that they are watching the situation closely. Those who survive the trials may attempt to work their way into control again—though the people at present are determined that they shall not. (d) Unless genuine political leadership of a democratic type can be developed in the near future, the situation will go by default. The men now in power are in general too old to be thought of as the leaders of tomorrow.

Nevertheless, there is at the present moment no shadow of doubt about the popularity of America and all things American. This accounts for the welcome which we were accorded everywhere. We know no better way of describing the public mind of Japan in regard to our mission than by reproducing here an editorial which appeared in the *Nippon Times* of Thursday, November 1, 1945:

The Visit of the American Religious Leaders

The present visit in Japan of four prominent American religious leaders, comprising a deputation representing the Protestant churches of America, is a matter which should interest the general Japanese public no less than the Japanese Christians. For, although the avowed purpose of this deputation is to re-establish contact with the Japanese Christians and to survey the general postwar religious situation in Japan, the influence of such visitors will far transcend mere matters of church policy. The work of this deputation is bound to mark a significant first milestone on the road of

Japan's return to the international fellowship of peace-minded peoples.

The importance of religious institutions in the general social and intellectual life of America is not to be underestimated. Although America, like all countries, has its faults and dark aspects, it must be recognized that the unusual strength of the shining merits of that country—its idealism, its humanitarianism, its tolerance, its strivings for world peace—is to an incalculable extent the product of its religious foundations. Although there are individual Americans who may be un-Christian in their conduct, it must be recognized that the Christian churches of America have ever been the staunchest champions of justice, humanity, protection of racial minorities, and world peace. Many a Japanese who lived in America before the war or during the war had the Christian elements in America to thank for kind and generous treatment.

The fact that the Christian churches of America have taken such solicitous concern in the rehabilitation of defeated Japan as to send this deputation at this early date betokens the earnestness and depth of the good will of the Christian elements in America toward the Japanese people. The fact that the highest authorities at Washington and General MacArthur's headquarters here are both extending helpful support to this deputation indicates the essential good will and sympathy of American official quarters toward the legitimate aspirations of the Japanese people. In the course of its visit the deputation is bound to become aware that the Japanese, whatever may have been the evils of their past governmental regime, are as a people appreciative and responsive to the spirit which the religious elements of America represent. And when the deputation gets back to America with its report it should have a great influence in further strengthening the work of restoring understanding and friendly relations between the peoples of the two nations. This deputation, as symbolizing the necessary mission of restoring international understanding and good will, should therefore be deeply appreciated and warmly welcomed by all the Japanese people without distinction as to creed or belief.

The effect of such a deputation as this on the domestic

situation in Japan should also be appreciated. Entirely apart from the encouragement and inspiration which the visitors will impart to the struggling Christian community in Japan, the influence on the general public is bound to be a healthy one. For many of the faults of Japan during the past several years have been due to narrow provincialism, intolerance, and spiritual and intellectual isolation from the rest of the world.

Any contact with the progressive stream of religious or cultural life in the outside world is a welcome contribution to the new enlightenment which Japan needs at this time.

The very fact that Christianity is a minority religion in this country makes this contact particularly important. For Japan has need to learn the true meaning of religious freedom, of freedom of thought and conscience. Japan, throughout her history, has fortunately been singularly free from religious intolerance and religious persecution per se. But religious minorities have all too frequently been oppressed on the grounds of their alleged political subversiveness. This is a fault which cannot be tolerated in a democratic society, and anything which tends to strengthen the prestige and dignity of any religious minority in Japan should be welcomed as a necessary contribution to the democratization of Japanese life.

It was the alleged atheist Voltaire who said: "I wholly disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." This is the principle which Japan needs to learn to appreciate, if she is to acquire the freedom of religion and the freedom of political thought which are essential to a democratic state. Entirely apart from sectarian or doctrinal considerations, Japan needs the presence of vigorous religious and political minorities of all kinds within her society to keep alive the tolerance and freedom which the nation must have in order to enjoy healthy balance and perspective. It is an essential requisite of democracy.

For this reason, if for nothing else, the invigoration of the Japanese Christian community through contact with such instrumentalities as the present visiting deputation is in the national interest. All progressive-minded Japanese, Christian or non-Christian or anti-Christian, should therefore welcome the American ecclesiastical visitors as valuable contributors

to the advancement of Japan to a rightful place in an enlightened and peaceful world.

Welcome was even more warmly expressed by the spokesmen of the Christian community. Here is a transcript of the brief address of Dr. Makino, President of the Doshisha University:

To the Members of the Delegation of the Christian Churches in America:

Let me express to you and through you to our Christian brethren of America our appreciation for your visit to this country at this early period after the war in spite of various difficulties which you had to overcome. You are showing us by this visit that our tie of Christian love is too strong to be disrupted, our brotherhood existing in the name of Christ is too deeply rooted to wither under the tyranny of armed forces.

I must not fail to express also our heartfelt gratitude for what you have done for the welfare of Japanese citizens in the United States during the war. We know perfectly well what a difficult thing it is to stand by a minority group during the terrible conflict of war. We are quite aware of the fact that the responsibility of restoring friendly relationships between America and Japan must be borne by the Christians of the two countries, particularly by those of Japan. Friends from America, we pledge firmly in the name of our Lord that we shall do our utmost in re-establishing true Christian fellowship between the nations.

In this dark period of history, we are troubled on every side, yet we are not distressed; we are perplexed but not in despair, because we firmly believe in the brotherhood of mankind so nobly shown by your kind visit to us today.

Friends from America, we need your prayers, first of all. May God help us each and all in the facing of our difficult problems and in the reconstruction of the true Kingdom of God in Japan.

3

THE HEADS OF STATES

IT gave us no end of confidence to be able to start out on our journey and to continue it up and down Japan with a letter from President Truman in our hands:

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

October 16, 1945

My dear Dr. Horton:

I am happy to know that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America will send a deputation to Japan for the purpose of conferring with Japanese Christians.

In my opinion, if Japan is to evolve into a peaceful nation, with an international as against a nationalistic outlook, she must understand and appreciate the religious forces of the world. As General MacArthur so well stated following the surrender of Japan on September 2, 1945:

"The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural development of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh."

Your deputation should in a large measure aid in solving this fundamental problem facing Japan.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

All those we met were delighted to see this letter, but for the Christians it had special significance. It meant something to them that the head of a great state should approve a mission of the Christian Church.

In the course of our visit with the Japanese, however, we were made glad by an act of their own Emperor: he invited

us to an audience with him. This was his means of showing his concern for his own Christian subjects.

It was on our return from the journey on which we looked down over Hiroshima and Nagasaki that we received the invitation; and in due course we appeared at the Imperial Palace—or rather, the palace having been burned, at the imperial household office building which now does duty for the palace.

The Emperor gave each of us an individual audience. He stood at the end of a long room which was covered with red carpet. We bowed, Japanese style, at the threshhold and again when we had come near to him, and then shook hands, Western style. At his request we sat down—an innovation introduced since the war—and when we retired, though we bowed, we did not walk out backwards as was the former custom.

In advance of the audience we had sent to the Emperor a copy of President Truman's letter, and from this His Imperial Majesty took his departure in his conversations with us. Through his interpreter, who stood at his side, he said that he hoped Christians the world over would co-operate in the effort to restore peace and good will among the peoples. He described the deputation as a means of cementing the ties of friendship between Japan and the United States. He expressed his appreciation of what the churches have done for Japan and went on to state his hope that the Christian schools would be speedily rebuilt and their work carried forward.

After the audience officials of the imperial household took us out to see the ruins of the palace and other parts of the grounds within the moat.

Conversations with many people in Japan in the cities and in the country—Christians and non-Christians—convinced us that the democratization of Japan would be immeasurably retarded if the emperorship was abolished. In

such an event chaos would undoubtedly develop, for the people regard him with affection as the "father" of their state without whom orderly life would be difficult if not impossible to achieve—and disorder is no precursor of democracy.

If democracy means government according to the will of the people the Emperor's throne is assured, for the people of Japan are overwhelmingly committed to him. We did not meet a single person who was opposed to the continuance of the emperorship. "The Emperor," said one Christian, "is the keystone of our social arch."

The present Emperor is a man whose person enhances his position. It is known everywhere that he is a man of diligence and decent habits—which is more than can be said of many of the late leaders of the military party. His morals are exemplary. He is believed to be an exponent of the highest ideals—including the ideal of peace. It is generally believed that he did not want war and it is now known that he was a prisoner of the military police during its prosecution.

The Emperor put himself in physical danger in declaring his acceptance of the Potsdam terms. A group of hot-heads among the younger officers of the army, having learned the Emperor's intention, tried to induce the commander of the Imperial Guard to keep the Emperor from going to the broadcasting station or sending out a recording of his proclamation of peace on August 15. When he declined to assist them they assassinated him on the spot. Forging orders and involving others in their conspiracy they were able finally to surround the palace at two o'clock on the fateful morning. It was only at eight o'clock that the commander of the Army of the East, hearing of the plots, was able to break the cordon that had been thrown around the Emperor. Reports of this incident, which lost nothing in the telling, put the Emperor in the popular mind with his people on

the side of peace as over against the military group who had started the war.

The mistake made by certain foreign commentators in estimating the situation is to reverse cause and effect. They hold that the relationship of the people to their imperial head is due to their belief in his divinity. As a matter of fact the belief that the medieval-minded peasantry have held in his divinity—a belief studiously fostered by the military who kept the Emperor in thrall—was made possible by the trust and affection which they already cherished for the head of their nation-family.

No one can tell how many citizens believe or to what extent they believe, in the myth of Amaterasu, the sun goddess, as the head of the imperial line, but it is certain that the Christians of Japan and the educated people in general have no illusions about it. They do not credit the Emperor with any divinity. If the constitution of Japan seems to point in that direction, this is regarded as being as much an anachronism as the belief itself. As a matter of fact the word hinting at imperial deity in the constitution loosely translated as "divine" has a much less pretentious connotation than the English word. It is more like the word that would be used by the faithful in describing the Holy Father in Rome: "The Pope is not God but the hand of God is on him in a peculiar way." It must be said, however, that the language of the constitution did open the way for the extreme interpretation forced upon the country by the military regime.

Christians to whom we talked mentioned the need for a statement about their relation to the Emperor which would help Christians in other parts of the world understand the difference between their attitude to him and their attitude to God. The Emperor has now made this statement himself in his New Year's Day rescript. This must be a source of great gratification to the Christian community.

The way is now open for him to become a constitutional monarch on the British or Scandinavian model, co-operating with his people in the things of democracy. In this new setting it is possible for him to become the greatest ruler Japan has ever had—even greater than Emperor Meiji, who brought modernity to his country.

4

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

THE restrictions upon church life in Japan during the war were so great that it is to be wondered that Christianity was able to survive in any strength at all.

It is extremely difficult for an American accustomed to life in a free, democratic society adequately to understand or evaluate the iron hand of propaganda and oppression that bore upon the Christian community in Japan during the war years. Opposition to Christianity was mounting in the years preceding 1941 and this grew in intensity after the war began, not only among the people, but also on the part of the several departments of government. Christians were held up as spies or quislings. Movies designed to spur the people in their war effort often located spy activities either in the homes of missionaries or in Christian churches.

Christians were thought by many to be for peace at any price. The military had taught the people that Japan was destined to rule the world—and this little sect that held that humanity rather than Japan should be the governing force on earth seemed to the militarists to constitute an obstacle to the working out of their plans. To a certain exent the priests of the Buddhist and Shinto sects aided and abetted the military in their defamation of Christianity—in

spite of the fact of the loosely formed religious association which was supposed to unite the three groups for common patriotic action. In one city it was whispered that the priests of the non-Christian groups had had something to do with placing posters on the doors of churches and Christian schools reading, "Now is the time to get rid of Christianity."

Christian theology denied the claims put forward for Amaterasu, the sun goddess. Who created Japan, after all? Was it this goddess, as the military taught, or was it the God of the Christians? And what about the end of all things? Would the Japanese Empire finally cover the earth, or would the day come soon, as many Christians taught, when Christ would return to judge the world, including that empire? The Christian groups which most manfully preached the Second Coming received the worst of the persecution, as in the days of the Roman Empire.

Throughout the country church assemblies were reduced to the one service on Sunday morning. In Nagoya, regulations against public meetings were applied to services of worship in the churches—which were thus confined to home meetings. By order of the government, church worship began with the ceremony of bowing in the direction of the Imperial Palace. Attendance upon church service was at a minimum. Congregations large and small were reduced to about one tenth of their former size.

There were undoubtedly some defections from the Church, although we found no cases of this among the ministry. There was one church where two elders resigned and left the Church because of their feeling that Christianity was not in harmony with loyalty to the Emperor and state. But the decrease in church attendance was not due entirely to opposition to Christianity. There were a number of other factors:

1. Sunday could not be kept, for all holidays had been abolished.

2. All young men had been drafted and all able-bodied

men, young or old, not in the army, had been put to work in the fields or factories.

3. Ministers and theological students were not exempted from military service and many were drafted into the army, or into factories or offices. This further affected the work of the Church.

The theological seminary in Tokyo practically carried on its work in the factories. The enrollment was reduced from 180 to six at the lowest point and forty or fifty at the end of the war. Professors, most of whom worked in the factories, lived with the students in factory dormitories, thus helping to keep up morale. Courses were given one day a week. The president of the seminary reported that the students gave a good account of themselves in the factories and attracted the attention of the other workers and factory managers.

4. Ministers and Christian workers were harassed by the police. Many were questioned by the "Thought Police." A number were thrown into prison, and four died there.

Four hundred ministers of the Holiness Church were deprived of their licenses to preach. Forty-three leaders of the Seventh Day Adventist group were arrested in 1943, and questioned for several months. The head of the church was in prison a hundred and one days. One minister in Hokkaido said at a school assembly that war was a sin, that Japan was not as innocent as was being said, and that the whole truth should be told. He was tried and convicted of disobeying the law governing war activities. But he appealed the case to the Supreme Court and in April of 1945 (when Japan was beginning to tire of the war repressions) he was acquitted on the ground that though what he had said was contrary to the law, his motives were sincere.

We talked with a young Y.M.C.A. worker, a graduate of Drew Theological Seminary, who spent 151 days in jail. He had been conscripted into government service and while working in one of the propaganda offices of the government

had expressed the view that the people were not being told the truth, that American soldiers were not guilty of the atrocities of which they were being accused. He was arrested and imprisoned and while in prison went many days without food.

By and large, however, the Christians who were actually imprisoned were remarkably few in number.

5. Evangelism, which had usually been carried on in the evening, came to a practical standstill, for transportation in the blacked-out cities was impossible.

6. Women could not come to church in any numbers because they had to stand in line for so many hours to secure the daily staples for their family. Even today they have to wait two and three and sometimes four hours in queues outside the grocery stores.

7. In the last months of the war, when the air raids were likely to burst upon any city at any time, school children and their families were removed to the country. This made church work in the cities, where the churches are chiefly clustered, still less possible, and in those areas where bombings were in progress or bombings expected, there could be no thought of any organized church work whatever.

8. The law forbade the use of many things which the Church needed in its institutional life. Paper was the most serious loss. No monthly or weekly reports were permitted.

9. Besides this there were toward the end of the war few churches left to worship in. In Tokyo 154 churches were destroyed, leaving only 9 churches intact and of these only 5 wholly undamaged. Of the 111 churches in Osaka, 57 were destroyed. In the great cities of the western district of Japan, 80 per cent of the strength is gone.

10. Finally, the books of the Christians had been burned. The Bibles and the hymn books of the people were largely destroyed. The ministers feel crippled and weaponless with their libraries gone. They told us they did not realize how

dependent upon books they were—to say nothing of current magazines—until their books were devoured by the incendiary gelatine.

In face of all these obstacles, some of them due to anti-Christian sentiment in Japan, some of them provided by the American air raids, the churches carried on as best they could.

There were differences of opinion among Christians with respect to the war, but, by and large, ministers and laymen alike supported it—or at least did not oppose it. They had no facts upon which to base a critical judgment. As one layman expressed it, they were compelled to think as the military wanted them to think. This is understandable when we recall the iron ring of censorship thrown around Japan, the highly organized and all-pervading propaganda developed by the military, and the contagion of mass psychology which cast its spell upon the whole people. Some ministers, in their effort to prove that they were not quislings, undoubtedly became even more nationalistic than their congregations. There were prayers for victory and denunciations of the enemy.

But there were also many who refused to offer prayers for victory. They prayed that Japan might be worthy of victory. They prayed for the triumph of righteousness in Japan and in the world. One Christian woman said, "We prayed so differently during the war that very often it was hard to say 'Amen' to each other's prayers."

There were also those who cherished deep misgivings about Japan's part in the war, misgivings which were shared by others of the more liberal among the people. These misgivings became graver after the fall of Saipan.

5

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

THE Christian schools were under heavy pressure from the military government and from people in their community—parents, students, and the more nationalistic members of the faculty, some of whom were not Christian. This opposition expressed itself in various ways. The government sought to eliminate Christianity from the schools either by securing the removal of all reference to Christianity in the charters, or in the case of the middle (high) schools, by reorganization from a *gakùin* form or recognition to that of a *gakko*.* Pressure from inside the school and from the community was directed against chapel exercises and Bible study. A few schools changed their charter and removed all reference to Christianity; some middle schools reorganized and accepted the same status as schools supported by the state (*gakko*), eliminating public religious exercises and Bible teaching as a part of school life. A few others gave up regular religious exercises and Bible study while making no change in their charter or organization. This does not mean, however, that they gave up all Christian activities.

In place of chapel the patriotic service required by the government was held once or twice a week and occasionally some pastor was asked to make an address on this occasion.

Despite all the pressure from government and people the great majority of the Christian educational institutions main-

* By a regulation promulgated some forty years ago Christian schools were permitted a form of recognition by the government which allowed religious exercises as a part of the school curriculum, whereas the *gakko* were not permitted such exercises on the school grounds. This regulation has been abrogated by the present minister of education. Since the *gakuin* always had a foreign flavor in the minds of the Japanese public, it was easier to persuade the schools to drop this status in the time of war.

tained religious services throughout the war years. "I would not permit myself to be coerced," said Miss Michi Kawai in referring to her school. President Hatanaka told the authorities that if he were compelled to change the charter he would close the school. After that the authorities left him alone. Another college president, realizing that serious consequences might follow his refusal to comply with government orders, called his family together before he left to answer the summons from the authorities and said to them, "I do not know whether I shall come back or not, but in any case you will know that your father was an honest man." He did not change the charter of his school. Still another educator took his stand against removing from the charter of his school the words "according to Christian principles." He said, "This is my faith and I am unable to teach anything but Christian principles. You can take my life if you wish but I cannot give up my faith." And he did not. He maintained a complete schedule of religious exercises in his school throughout the war. "I did not consult with anybody," he said. "I just talked with God." In the bombing of his city, his school and his home were destroyed. His graduates and students visited him and wept over the ruins. "Somehow," he said, "I could not feel sad. I had been proud of my school. I had built it. Now God had taken it away. My pride was gone. My reliance on self was gone. I had a new joy."

Each Christian seemed to draw a line at some point beyond which he felt he could not go and keep the faith. This line was drawn at different places by different individuals but it was always there. In general, the pressure of the non-Christian forces was met by temporizing. The authorities in the schools entered into negotiations with the police, which lasted sometimes for years. They yielded only when they had to and then without compromising their Christian principles. In all their activity they illustrated the

Chinese saying that when the storm blows the bamboo bends but does not break.

The Christian community in Japan fought a good fight. They kept the faith. We felt that in the survival of the Christian movement in Japanese education it had again proved true that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ.

6

THE UNITED CHURCH

THE crowning achievement of the Christians in Japan during the war was undoubtedly the establishment of the United Church of Christ. It was an immense task, this uniting of thirty-four denominations. We found this organization intact, with the church headquarters functioning actively. Besides the denominations, such Christian agencies as the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association entered the Kyodan—as the United Church is called. The Seventh Day Adventists and 162 of the 230 churches of the Anglican Church—the Sei Ko Kwai—remained outside.

At the beginning of the war the Kyodan had been organized into "branches" representing the different historical groupings comprising the union, but these were presently given up and the church formed into a strongly integrated whole. It was organized into nine districts with a superintendent in charge of each. There is an executive committee of thirty and an assembly of two hundred and fifty. All ministers, church officers, and members of committees and of the general assembly are appointed by the *torisha* or director of the church. There are eight

departments of church work, each with a responsible officer in charge: General Administration, Evangelism, East Asia, Doctrine (now abolished), Women's Work, Sunday School Work, Social Welfare, Publications, and Finance.

During the war the Kyodan laid down several policies:

(a) In spite of the fact that transportation was difficult, it held regular retreats for ministers. Coming from so many different backgrounds, the latter felt a need for becoming acquainted with one another—and the event proved that acquaintance under Christian auspices can go far toward resolving differences between people of varying traditions.

(b) Everywhere the Kyodan encouraged the churches to maintain their Sunday services. In some places it was possible to open the church only every second or every third week, but the chairman of the Evangelistic Department, as he toured the country, had a reward for his labors in the knowledge that few churches, if any, were closed up altogether, even when the buildings were destroyed.

(c) The Kyodan worked hard to maintain the moral level of the country, chiefly through the local churches. Kagawa led in the "moral emphasis movement," which underscored the necessity for personal virtue and decent living. All felt that the war had a subtly disintegrating influence upon popular morality.

(d) Over one hundred Christian workers were sent by the Kyodan to China and the islands of the Southern Pacific. These are not to be thought of as emissaries of empire, though in some cases they were undoubtedly too closely associated with the government's policy. We are convinced that their main desire was to spread the Gospel. We of the deputation to Japan had, we think, a good deal more of sympathy for these workers than we had had heretofore, since we found ourselves in a position almost identical with theirs. We came as citizens of a country which was interested in bringing Japan into its own political orbit—and yet our chief,

in fact our only, purpose was to advance the cause of the Church of Christ. The Kyodan has now necessarily had to give up its work in China and the Southern Islands, but the hope was freely expressed that this might be resumed when normality had returned to East Asia.

Christian workers were engaged in activities under the auspices of the Japanese Army in foreign lands. Some were conscripted for the purpose and others went voluntarily but at the government's expense. Twelve Protestant ministers, three Catholic priests, and eleven Catholic laymen were conscripted for the Philippines. Japanese Protestant workers there assisted in the organization of the Federated Church. Similar work was carried on in China. One prominent Christian leader took up his residence there, another made extended tours of the country.

A great deal of the energy of the headquarters staff was spent in drawing up a catechism, which was undertaken in place of a general creed for the church. Every article had to receive the approval of a government dominated by nationalists, important elements of which sought to crush Christianity altogether. The result, at many points, may not meet the test when checked against an ideal statement, but under the circumstances it is a remarkably adequate document.

7

THE SITUATION TODAY

BEFORE the war there were in Japan, according to the best available reports and estimates, 209,000 Protestant communicants and 100,000 Roman Catholics. It will be understood that throughout this report we have discussed only the situation in the Protestant community.

Out of 2,000 churches, 457 have been burned. These are distributed by localities as follows:

Aichi	22	Miyagi	10
Aomori	1	Miyazaki	3
Chiba	1	Nagasaki	3
Ehime	8	Niigata	3
Fukuoka	17	Oita	2
Fukushima	2	Okayama	6
Gifu	3	Osaka	46
Gumma	3	Saitama	1
Hiroshima	19	Shizuoka	22
Hokkaido	2	Tochigi	1
Hyogo	45	Tokushima	2
Ibaraki	5	Tokyo	154
Iwate	1	Toyama	20
Kagawa	4	Wakayama	1
Kagoshima	7	Yamaguchi	4
Kanagawa	26	Yamanashi	2
Kochi	3		
Kumamoto	6		
Mie	2	TOTAL	457

Three hundred and thirty-one ministers lost their libraries in the fires which destroyed their homes. Members of congregations lost their residences and many took refuge in the country.

Few have been able to return to the destroyed cities because of lack of houses. Few temporary structures have yet been built and inflation and the higher cost of materials make the rebuilding of homes, churches, or schools extremely difficult.

The ministers are tired and underweight. Many of the men in middle life have been projected into old age by the strain of the war years and those in early middle life are old.

But we found them full of spiritual vigor and courage. As one of the leaders expressed it, "The light of hope is dawning on us for the building of a new Japan. There is nothing to be lamented; we entertain no spirit of hatred—only joy

and a determination to stand up and go forward." They see a great need and an unprecedented opportunity for the preaching of the Gospel. Plans were being made for agressive evangelism. While we were there, for example, Dr. Kagawa went to Nagoya to speak at a mass meeting attended by 1,600 people.

While they feel that the building of churches should not take precedence over the building of the homes of the people, plans are being made to secure funds for aiding churches in erecting temporary buildings. These plans call for the raising of Y 800,000, half of which is to be used in Tokyo. It is hoped that the stronger churches can raise another Y 1,200,000 for their own rebuilding, thus making a total of Y 2,000,000.

About half of the Christian schools and colleges have been destroyed. Most of the schools are carrying on their work either in borrowed buildings or in such buildings as were not burned. The day we visited the Osaka Girls' School they were holding assembly in the open amid the ruins. They were planning to use the Y 500,000 received from insurance to repair the one building remaining on the campus and to build temporary structures. Aoyama Gakuin, in Tokyo, was carrying on its work in what was left of the buildings on the campus. The Kinjo Girls' College in Nagoya was using the chapel building which had not been completely destroyed.

We felt that the Christian schools faced a remarkable opportunity and that by next spring most of them would be functioning more or less normally. In some cases, new leadership would have to be secured to replace that of the war years. This had already been accomplished in a few cases, and, in others, processes of reorganization were already under way.

We found a general recognition even on the part of the present leadership that the existing form of the organization of the Church of Christ would have to be changed. It was clearly superimposed upon the church by legal enactment.

It embodied the leadership principle common to all fascist organizations and consequently was not in accord with the essential genius of the Protestant Church.

In addition we found dissatisfaction directed against the general idea of the United Church and against the present officers of it. We participated in conferences where this matter was freely discussed. It may be well to give some of these comments, without evaluation. "The United Church was the result of government pressure. The church organization is not democratic. The minister has all authority and the laymen have no place." "The union was the natural growth of twenty-five years, to which a push was given by the government. It is God's providence that the government pushed us together. In the laws governing the church there are undemocratic features. These must be changed, but the United Church is the result of more than government pressure." "Now that the law for regulating religions has been repealed, you are going to have several church organizations." "My personal opinion is that 80 per cent of the ministers will vote for continuing the union." "But I don't think the laymen will vote that way. The present church is not a church; it is an alliance. It doesn't even have a creed." "I have talked with my laymen and they say that if we were to go back to denominationalism again they would lose their interest and faith in the Church."

The plans for the consideration of this whole question were being formulated while we were in Japan. Officers of the church were visiting the various districts to discuss the matter. The executive committee of thirty was to be called together early in December to draw up proposals to be made the basis of discussion at a meeting of the general assembly of 250 to be called probably in February of 1946. At this latter meeting, the present officers of the church are prepared to resign to make way for a complete reorganization.

We found strong sentiment in the church for the calling

of an elective assembly to consider the whole question. It was felt by those holding this opinion that the existing officers of the church should not develop proposals for reorganization but that the whole matter should be entrusted to an assembly elected for this purpose. On the other hand the officers of the church felt that it was their responsibility to initiate action through the existing church bodies.

It may be unwise for us to express a judgment in a situation as fluid as that in the Church in Japan today, but at the risk of being found to be wrong in the actual event we feel that we should give some estimate of what is likely to happen.

We feel fairly certain of two things. The first is, that the Christian community in Japan will not return to the denominational chaos of the prewar years. We are convinced that while the form of the church organization was superimposed and government pressure gave the added impetus required to bring about a union of so comprehensive a character, the drive toward union within the Church was a factor of vital importance. This original union movement provides an important cohesive force today and the experience of working together during the war has, on the whole, strengthened belief in union.

Our second conclusion is that the present mode of organization of the Church of Christ will not continue. As we have already indicated, the officers of the church themselves recognize that the present form was prescribed by the government and must be altered.

There are several possibilities. One is that the present strong centralized union will be continued under a true ecclesiastical organization, with elective assemblies and officers. Under this form of organization, the old denominational groupings would be merged into a unified church, with one general statement of creed and general boards or agencies charged with responsibilities for the whole church.

A second possibility is a form of reorganization which would

leave the United Church intact with central boards and agencies and one general creed for the whole church, but with a stronger emphasis on the various groupings within the church, giving these groupings the privilege of adopting additional creeds or confessions as they might desire. This would be in effect a return to the early form of union organization which existed at the beginning of the war, except that the overall organization would conform with usual church practice.

A third possibility is a form of organization giving still greater autonomy to former denominational groupings, while at the same time retaining a strong federal organization. It should also be said that, whether it be a true union or a strong federation which emerges from the present movement, there will be certain groups which will maintain their independent denominational status. The Seventh Day Adventists did not join the Church of Christ and they will remain apart from it. The same is true of the group of Anglican (Sei Ko Kwai) churches which did not join the union. Whether or not the churches of that communion which entered the union will remain in it or join the former Sei Ko Kwai is not clear. There may be other groups which will organize again as independent churches. Some adjustment will also undoubtedly be made in the relationship to the new organization of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., the Salvation Army, and other agencies, but it is our opinion that the main body of the Christian movement in Japan will emerge from this situation a much more coherent and strongly united group than that which existed before the war.

8

THE WOMEN AND YOUTH OF JAPAN

WONDERFUL is the only word to describe the opportunity that confronts not only the women of Japan but the women of America, as they consider the future of womanhood in Japan. We had the great joy on a Sunday afternoon of talking with a group of the strongest women that it has ever been our good fortune to meet. There was Miss Michi Kawai, for instance. Her record holds. It will be remembered that she refused to let the girls of her school march in a victory parade decreed by the government in the early days of the war, and right through the war she stood out as such a distinguished representative of the Christian Church that men and women alike acknowledge her leadership. We must remember that girls' schools had an easier time than the boys' schools in general, but Miss Kawai did not stay within the walls of her school; she felt the need, for instance, for an agricultural college for women, and during the height of the war, just about a year ago, she raised sufficient funds to guarantee the destiny of that college. It is already organized, although there is as yet no building for it. When a constitution came to be written, the government authorities wanted her to strike out all reference to Christianity. It was five men against one woman. "But," said Miss Kawai, "I perspired and trusted in God." The constitution was finally accepted as she wanted it. This was called by those who knew the circumstances one of the great Christian victories of the war.

Miss Takiko Fujita is a person greatly interested in woman suffrage. A directive has made it possible, if the expected action is taken by the Japanese government, for women as well as men to vote at the age of twenty, and to run for office at the age of twenty-five. A number of people are trying to

persuade Miss Fujita and other Christian women leaders to stand for the Diet, and it is to be hoped that they will. Miss Fujita reports that a Japanese counterpart of the League of Women Voters is being established in Japan. A mass meeting was to have been held at the end of November to organize it. That group is not attempting to become a political party, but will endeavor to teach the women of Japan about the various political issues of the day, as they arise. This organization is beginning in a small way, but undoubtedly has a future. It is composed chiefly of professional women and college students, but there are other women in it.

Another group, which deals less with politics than with the relationships with which the women of Japan are already familiar, is probably to be called "The Women's Organization for Co-operation." They promote home life, education, and only to a limited extent the understanding of politics. This group is more largely Christian than the first one named. Christian women are already standing out as leaders in it. Their organization meetings were to occur early in December. Miss Ichikawa, who has devoted her life to woman suffrage, seems to be the leader of it. The war has brought the women of Japan into community life as never before — a point which should be noted by all who are interested in women's work.

Mrs. Tamaki Uemura is the chairman of the national Y.W.C.A. At present this organization is educating only an inner circle in social matters, but presently its members will address themselves also to the public.

Mrs. Yasuko Iwamura is head of the Kindergarten Association of Japan. There were six hundred kindergartens in Japan founded by missionaries and Japanese Christian women. Approximately a third of them were started by the latter. They touched about ten thousand mothers, but unfortunately during the bombing all the records of the Association were burned. Most of the kindergartens have been burned, since all of them were in the cities.

Two or three of the ten training schools for kindergarten teachers were burned, most of them having already stopped operating. The kindergartens were ordered closed at the beginning of hostilities and changed into crêches, to which the working women brought their children to be looked after. The kindergartens are now starting up again, and the hope is that they will expand from the larger cities into the small towns. Christians, in general, obeyed the order to close the kindergartens, but some non-Christian kindergartens continued their work, without being punished by the government.

The Y.W.C.A. program of evangelization was interrupted by the war. The magazine of the Association met opposition, because it dealt with international matters, and was finally stopped on the pretext of the paper shortage. The Association lost many buildings. The big Tokyo headquarters was occupied by the Japanese Navy, and has now been taken over by the American Army. The building has been badly damaged by use. Several other Y.W.C.A. buildings were destroyed in Tokyo. The buildings at Nagoya and Yokohama were destroyed. At Osaka the building is standing, but the hostel is burned. The other buildings in Osaka and those in Kobe were burned. Everywhere is evidenced a desire to start again.

The women of the churches have gone to the chaplains and asked what they could do for the soldiers. The chaplains at first asked if the girls of the churches could arrange dances. The women reported that social custom would forbid that, but many of the churches are now opened Sunday afternoon, and tea is provided in a home atmosphere.

The head of the Women's Department of the United Church of Japan is Mrs. Uemura. The country has been divided geographically into nine districts for women's work as for the church at large. Prayer meetings for women are held throughout the empire once a month—and on the same topic. The union of the denominations brought together many different kinds of piety. Because of this, it was difficult for the first

two years to develop a warm and intimate spirit among the women worshiping together. But this end has now been achieved. Everywhere the women have vigorously promoted the study of the Bible. Women theological students have been helped by the women of the church chiefly in a material way. The Women's Department of the Kyodan has encouraged evangelism by women, especially on the part of those ministers' wives whose husbands had to go to war.

The women of the churches have been greatly interested in missionary work in China. They have established a Christian girls' school in Peking and in the same city started a social center for children, women, and working people, in connection with which there is a dispensary. There have been classes for Chinese children; a woman physician has been sent from Japan under whom two Chinese girls have been trained as nurses. The enterprise was controlled and administered by a committee of Japanese and Chinese women. It finally received 500,000 yen from the Nanking government as endowment.

Another great work built in Peking by women's enthusiasm is Mrs. Hani's Life School for poor girls. This gives them six months' training in practical arts. All of Mrs. Hani's workers in Peking have been graduates of her school, which stands just outside Tokyo. In all, the women have sent over a hundred women workers to China, five or six of them ordained.

Not much can be said as yet about the part youth is to play in the new Japan, but as one of the American officers remarked, "The kids are seething." That is what we should expect, and there are many evidences that point toward active youth participation in the making of the new nation. One of the American majors in General MacArthur's staff has been assigned the task of studying the psychology of the returning Japanese soldier and his re-education. Japanese Christian leaders reported that many students were never reconciled to the war program and that they believed that they might make themselves felt at once now that the war is over.

On the first day we found a Japanese placard which read, when translated:

> Young people, bestir yourselves;
> No time for tears;
> What's bad is bad;
> What's good is good;
> Let's get going.

On the first Sunday, Dr. Van Kirk drove to the suburbs of Tokyo for the initial meeting of the student Y.M.C.A. About fifty were expected. Approximately four hundred came.

While we were in Japan students met with representatives of General MacArthur's Headquarters Staff in the Civil Information and Education Section. The students present were those of Tokyo Imperial, Waseda, Keio, Commercial, and Nippon Universities. They were asked by the representatives of the Allied Headquarters to state their attitude toward American democracy and to tell concretely their sentiments toward the democratization of Japan's institutions of learning.

The answers of the students follow:

Student movements have in the past been frequently ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities. Even today, when students above twenty years of age are to be given the suffrage, movements for democratization by students are regarded by the authorities as political; and there are Education Ministry ordinances, police laws, regulations against petty offences, and lots of other laws which the authorities can invoke against movements by students in bodies. We desire to have an end made of these laws and regulations.

School regulations prohibit students from conducting political movements outside school, and there is a close watch kept over students by school officers whose business is to enforce obedience and whose methods do not differ much from those of the secret police. There must be an end of this state of affairs, too.

In order to achieve the end, students are banding themselves into organizations for the study of democracy and or-

ganizing self-governing bodies. When self-government for students has been established we shall move to get representatives of students to participate in the administration of school affairs. By this means, we desire to prevent the penetration of Fascism into schools. Representatives of the student bodies of various universities already are working to organize students throughout the country into a self-governing body.

The other things desired by students are the importation of Western books, the opening of libraries of Western books, the distribution of writing paper to students, and invitations to American scholars to give lectures in Japan.

We remember one youth saying, "You will live to see it; Japan will become the Sweden of the Orient." By this he meant that his country, without the burden of army or navy, would become economically and culturally a light to the whole of Eastern Asia. He was plainly ready to throw himself into the task of making it so.

9

THE NEW OPPORTUNITY IN JAPAN

IT is our conviction that the situation in Japan presents an unparalleled opportunity for aggressive evangelism. The people are "shocked and hurt and humbled and miserable," as Mrs. Uemura said. They are spiritually impoverished. Mr. Tomita said in his farewell address to us, "Japan has lost its basis of moral conduct. Even loyalty to the Emperor is being questioned. The Japanese spirit is in great trouble and confusion—Japan must rise up out of this despair with Christ." In all our conferences, Christian leaders felt the burden of a responsibility for evangelism.

Non-Christian leaders also view the moral plight of their country with deep concern and many are turning to Christianity for help. Former Premier Higashikuni formed a com-

mittee with Dr. Kagawa as one of its members to work for moral renewal. This committee is now vigorously at work. Prince Mikasa, a younger brother of the Emperor, has manifested his interest in it. The granting of an imperial audience to the members of our deputation is not without significance in this connection also.

Moreover, the general movement toward democracy gives Christianity a new opportunity. Thoughtful people realize that freedom without inner discipline resulting from respect for eternal moral principles may not be an unmixed blessing. They know also that in essence Christianity is best suited to develop those guiding principles.

The repressive religious bodies law has been abrogated and under the new regulations to be drawn up (in which the deputation had a minor hand), it is likely that churches will be as free as they are in the United States. Private schools are now permitted to carry on education based on Christian principles without loss of privileges for their students. Normal schools will be open to the graduates of all high schools, public or private, opening the way for Christian teachers to be trained in state institutions. Shinto will take its place as one of the religions of the country without state support and students in public schools will no longer be required as a part of their school duty to participate in ceremonials at Shinto shrines.

If the present trend in Japan continues, Christianity should be in a position somewhat comparable to that which it occupied in the early days of the Emperor Meiji. That is to say, it will be free to proclaim its message and carry on its work without interference from the state and with an opportunity equal to that of any other faith.

In all our conferences, this unique opportunity for developing a Christian program was eagerly discussed. It was agreed that Christian education had a most important contribution to make. The need of first-rate Christian universities in the Tokyo and Kyoto areas was pointed out. Dr. Yamamoto re-

ported on plans already being prepared for an Institute of Advanced Studies for men and women at the Tokyo Women's College. A plan was outlined by one of the Christian educators for organizing Christian high schools in several of the smaller cities destroyed by bombing, including Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The need for reorganizing the curriculum and program of Christian education in existing schools to bring them into line with the best democratic practice in education was stressed. The opportunity for the organizing of schools for the study of English and English Bible was pointed out. Illustrations were given of such schools already at work with many more applicants than could be accommodated.

For some years before the war there was a very strong National Christian Council in Japan. When the United Church of Japan was organized, the expressed intention of the leaders was to have this union take the place of the National Christian Council. In 1941 at Riverside the leaders expressed repeatedly and emphatically their desire to maintain world contacts; but when the war came the Church of Christ was made a part of an over-all religious organization of all faiths in Japan, and those contacts were broken.

In this new day there is very great eagerness among all Christian groups for renewed association with the outside world. We found this among the young people, as well as among the official leaders of the Church. The Japanese Christians wish to become again a part of the International Missionary Council, the International Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and the World Council of Churches. The officers of the Church of Christ in Japan asked officially for representation at the approaching Geneva meetings of the I. M. C. and W. C. C.

Ours was not a missionary deputation and had no administrative responsibilities, but the place of the missionary in helping to meet the opportunities for evangelism in Japan was discussed in almost every one of our conferences.

Our readers will be interested in a free translation of some of the comments made at the various conferences as well as a longer abstract of a careful statement made by Mr. Tomita, the director of the United Church:

A minister in Nagoya: "Missionaries should not come now. Wait till things are more settled. We need a few, well selected ones, who will not look down on the Japanese, but who will trust them as brothers."

A layman in Kyoto: "We have been helped by the missionaries in the past, we hope they will help us again."

A minister in the Kwansei: "We must Christianize rural Japan. It was the rural villages that furnished most of the military leaders. It would be an excellent thing if a great number of missionaries could be sent out for rural work; 1,000 missionaries in the next twenty years are needed. There never was a better time for rural evangelism."

An Osaka layman: "We need missionaries for the country but also those who can work with city ministers and in the schools. Young men admire America now and there is a great opportunity. We need missionaries to examplify Christian living."

A Christian educator: "We all agree in welcoming the missionaries but I doubt that the church in this country is ready to receive them. The church is disorganized and it not united enough to develop a missionary policy."

An Osaka layman: "I hope you will not hurry in bringing in a lot of missionaries. We must study the problem carefully and not rush into sending people out here at once. Everything is in confusion. We are not in a position at this time to receive missionaries."

A Kyoto pastor: "For the present, it would be better for the missionaries not to come. Rather send ambassadors of friendship, and food for the people of Japan."

A Kobe pastor: "We should settle the problems with regard to missionaries as soon as possible. Young teachers are needed for our schools. We should also furnish Christian teachers for government schools. There is also a need for men and women doctors." (This as well as the need for rural workers was emphasized by several.)

A pastor at Kyoto: "Missionaries should be sent immediately. The laymen will not be satisfied unless missionaries come to work with us."

A Tokyo pastor: "We need at least ten or twelve missionaries at once to work with us in preaching the Gospel and in relief. We need the help of these Christian leaders to act as liaison between the American troops and the churches, especially in relief matters."

The statement made by Mr. Tomita may be summarized as follows:

I discussed this question with a number of different people, and found the following: (a) One group opposed the return of the missionaries. (b) Another did not oppose their coming if they did not come at once but waited until later. (c) A third group said that missionaries were needed not for direct church work but in the schools. (d) The large majority favored having more missionaries than before the war for all types of work.

My own judgment, shared by a number with whom I talked, is as follows:

(a) In principle, missionaries have the right and responsibility to go anywhere at any time. There is no race or nationality in Christ.

(b) But the question before us is one of practical procedure in the Japan of today. The missionary age may be said to have come to an end with the Meiji era. Later missionaries have not been engaged so much in direct church work as in schools and in social work, and if these should come back they would not expect to become pastors of churches.

(c) If the various denominations send missionaries as heretofore, what will be their relation to the United Church? We have not yet discussed this matter.

(d) The general public, in view of the general devastation, might find it difficult to welcome representatives of the former enemy country. We Christians regard Christianity as above country, but will the general public understand?

I do not have a negative opinion with regard to the return of missionaries. I regard what I have said above as difficulties

and hindrances, but if there are missionaries who can overcome them, I should be very glad to welcome them. The missionaries who come back must have the courage to conquer these obstacles.

Mr. Tomita concluded his address by saying, "We need greater co-operation and assistance in evangelism from our American friends than we had before the war in order to help create the new Japan."

In view of the nature of our mission in Japan, we have no responsibility for recommending a long-range policy for missionary work there. Some points would seem, however, to be clear:

The reports given above show that a majority of Christian leaders believe that there will be opportunity for large missionary service in the new situation that is developing in Japan. It is clear that so far as the schools are concerned, a number of missionary teachers will be desired as soon as the schools are in full operation and living conditions permit. It is our opinion that this generally favorable attitude toward missionary work will tend to grow stronger as the months pass and a new pattern of missionary relationships develops.

There is undoubtedly a fear lest the relatively strong American churches with their highly organized agencies for missionary work may again pursue strong denominational programs in Japan and in consequence make it difficult to maintain the precarious unity which has so far been developed. Japanese Christians also fear lest they be thrust again into a colonial status and lose their right of free and independent action. They were hesitant about facing the problem of absorbing a large number of missionaries at this time when they themselves were compelled to go through a process of reorganization. They did not feel the same hesitancy about teachers in the schools; but the majority opinion would seem to be that, for the present, the number of missionaries, other than those in schools, should be kept to a minimum.

The whole matter was curtly summed up by a newspaper man whom we met in Tokyo: "If you people (by which he meant us Christians) don't get in here soon, it will be the greatest crime in history—but I don't necessarily mean that you must flood the place with missionaries." What the Japanese Church needs are our genuine interest, our prayers, our financial aid, a few experienced missionaries immediately and more later—when they are asked for.

10

RELIEF

WHILE the deputation does not bear any official request from the United Church as such, we do have ample evidence that financial help for rehabilitation and reconstruction will be needed and will be heartily welcomed. We have in our files specific appeals for help in the rebuilding of churches, kindergartens, and schools. For example, Mrs. Yasuko Iwamura said, concerning the kindergartens, "We can run our kindergartens without help from outside if we are given a start in building and equipment."

The total cost of rebuilding the destroyed churches cannot be borne from within Japan itself, although plans are under way for the Japanese to raise as much money as possible.

When it comes to the schools, surely Americans will want to rebuild those at Hiroshima and Nagasaki—where the first atomic bombs fell. These schools have a notable history and a place in the affection of many Americans. They serve as illustrations of the need and of the opportunity we shall have for helping to rebuild many schools and colleges.

Furthermore, as soon as shipping space becomes available, we shall want to urge that authorization for the shipping of building materials be given by the occupation authorities.

When the deputation met the Christian leaders of the Kwansei region at Kyoto, the minister in charge of the devotions read *Revelation* 6, with its fearful picture of the four horsemen, as the basis for our meditation. The black horseman of famine is spreading terror throughout Japan. The food crop is the poorest since 1909. Estimates vary widely as to the exact shortage but there is no difference of opinion that an appalling shortage exists and must be remedied in some way. The situation is aggravated by a lack of shipping for the customary imports of food and by the disruption of the transportation system within Japan. Further, there are black marketeers and others placing gain above human welfare.

The actual rice crop for 1945 will be 46,611,050 koku, according to an estimate made on September 20 by the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry. This figure is 11,946,898 koku or 20.4 per cent less than the actual crop for 1944 and 14,132,812 koku or 23.3 per cent less than the average actual crop for the previous five years. It is the first time in 36 years that the rice crop total of Japan has fallen below 50,000,000 koku.

The Japanese of all classes, as well as our occupation authorities, realize that the primary problem of the immediate future is to provide food, clothing, and shelter—the three basic essentials for human living. So quickly did the incendiary raids destroy homes that millions of city dwellers are without winter clothing as well as without shelter, and building materials and cloth are not available. The problem of relief is the central topic of conversation and is constantly being presented in the newspapers through news items and through editorials. It was brought to our attention repeatedly by our Christian friends. They are seeking to help to their utmost.

They always said: "We Christians must not be relieved while others suffer. We must think of all the people and bear our part with them in this desperate winter." Kagawa has secured several Japanese army barracks and industrial dormitories to provide shelter for homeless families. At best,

however, this will take care of only a small fraction of those exposed to bitter weather.

One of the most moving experiences of the deputation's visit was the proposal of the Christian women, which was voiced through Mrs. Sekiya—a remarkable woman whose husband has held many offices in the Japanese government and has always been known as a liberal. These Japanese women proposed that each take out of her treasures her most precious heirloom of clothing, porcelain, jewelry, to send to the women of the United States for sale there—and that the money thus realized be used to purchase materials and food for the needy of Japan. They suggested this in the knowledge that the money would be only a mite toward the large amount needed but none the less a token of their eagerness to do their best.

We pointed out that the shipping situation being what it is it would be impossible to carry such a program into full effect but suggested that if they would give us four such treasures as a symbol of what they desired to do and would do if they could, we should put them to good use. So each one of us brought either an obi or a kimono back with us and have since given them to the proper committee of the Foreign Missions Conference.

The Japanese Christian women do not intend to let America do all the work but are ready themselves to co-operate with their American friends in amelioration of the situation which may develop in Japan. We are sure the Christian women of America will respond.

The occupation authorities recognize that they are facing critical conditions and they understand the concern of the people of Japan. While placing the chief responsibility for meeting this situation on the Japanese government, where it belongs, they affirmed their intention to prevent general starvation conditions from developing. It is, however, imperative that Christian people in America be fully aware of the necessity for sending to Japan essential food and clothing supplies

and be prepared to support the American government in its expressed purpose to meet acute human need. The Church should seek to develop American public opinion looking toward the release of such shipping as may be required for transportation.

It is evident that the churches of the United States and other countries cannot undertake a program of relief for the whole population of Japan. That is clearly a task of the Allied military authorities. We believe that these authorities will go far if supported by public opinion. In addition to arousing the public to the total problem, however, the churches can and must meet critical local situations. Such critical local situations already exist. And they will increase as the months go by. We therefore feel that there is necessity for a church relief program in Japan.

We must not miss the fact, either, that unless there is at least a minimum provision for food, clothing, and shelter, dangerous social and political conditions will develop in the war-paralyzed population which may destroy all of the remarkable achievements of the occupation to date. We have here the most explosive of all issues which the Allied authorities have to face.

L'ENVOI

A MEMORY which will never leave us is that of a meeting with a few Japanese Christian friends in the upper room of a ruined school building in Nagoya. The windows were blown out, the evidences of bombs and fire were all about us; but in the corner of the building which had miraculously been left standing, we found a room for fellowship and prayer. On one side of it was a red vase with two flowers, and on the opposite side another vase with two yellow flowers and several spikes of green — so characteristic of the Japanese.

In that lowly place, in the midst of the ruins, we sang, talked of the future, and prayed together.

There the point to which we returned again and again was the word of St. Paul—"Ye are all one in Christ Jesus". This had been the theme upon which all the members of the deputation had preached the previous Sunday and upon which we were all to preach again the Sunday following. It had been suggested to us by a Japanese pastor.

And this is the theme which we bring home to our American Christian friends and to our Christian friends throughout the whole world. Oneness in Christ—it is the hope of humanity.

Ambassador Grew has said: "For better or for worse, Divine Providence has placed our respective nations on either side of the Pacific; we are neighbors for all time to come; and nothing that anyone can do can alter the fact."

Nothing can alter that fact. If the spirit of the blind and selfish world be in us, it is a fact too terrible to contemplate. If the mind of Christ be in us, it is a fact which shines with inextinguishable promise.

APPENDIX: RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Christian Literature. The Christian community in Japan is in immediate need of Japanese and English New Testaments, hymn books, and basic books in English for the use of ministers in their study and preparation of sermons.

a. *Bibles.* The Bible plates are intact but paper and printing facilities are at a minimum. In ordinary years about five hundred thousand copies of the New Testament in Japanese were produced, but during the last years of the war it has been possible to print only about five thousand copies a year. This has resulted in a natural shortage but in addition many copies of the Scriptures were burned in the homes and churches destroyed. Furthermore, there is an unusual demand for the Scriptures on the part of the general public. We were told that an ordinary five-sen New Testament now sells in the book stores for yen 3.50.

There is also a great need for the New Testament in English. Classes in English Bible are being organized in large numbers. All facilities for the study of English are overcrowded. In many respects this situation parallels the early days of the Emperor Meiji.

There is urgent need at once for one million copies of the Japanese New Testament, and one hundred thousand English New Testaments. Arrangements were made before we left Japan for the shipment of Bibles through the facilities of the army of occupation. It is suggested that this matter be referred to the American Bible Society and that the Boards and related committees be prepared to assist the Bible Society in any way that may be required.

b. *Hymn Books.* The same condition applies to Japanese hymn books. Church leaders suggested that five hundred thousand hymn books would meet the immediate situation. It is recommended that this matter be given urgent consideration by the groups concerned and some plan be worked out for meeting this need.

c. *Bible Helps.* Three hundred and fifty Christian workers lost their libraries in the fires which destroyed their homes. As the result they have no basic books with which to do their work. Furthermore, no new books have reached them from the West during the war years. We can render the leadership of the Japanese Church an immense help by gathering together a supply of English translations of the Bible such as Moffatt and Goodspeed, concordances, commentaries, and other basic books for shipment to the church headquarters in Japan for distribution. A number of copies of important new books and pamphlets should also be included.

2. Relief. The relief picture is extremely complicated. Many Japanese leaders, both in and out of the church, were urgent and insistent in their stressing of the need for food. They were filled with a great fear that millions of people would starve by spring unless some relief were given. They were emphatic in saying that they did not need money but that what they needed were food and clothing.

It was impossible in the brief time at our disposal in Japan to work out any relief program in detail, and our recommendation is that a representative of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Church Committee for Relief in Asia be sent to Japan at once to work with church leaders, occupation authorities, the Japanese Red Cross, and any other agencies involved, with a view to the development of a church relief program designed to meet such acute needs and situations as can be adequately dealt with by church groups.

One highly respected church leader advised that this program be developed not as a program of the Japanese churches

but as an overseas church program in conjunction with the occupation authorities and in co-operation with Japanese church leaders, to which the Christian churches of all countries would give assistance. We do not express a definite opinion on this plan but we would advise that it be given careful consideration in connection with the development of the program. It is anticipated that missionaries will need to be located in different centers to assist in carrying out the relief program as it may be developed.

3. An Administrative Deputation to Japan. It will be seen from our report that the Church in Japan is in the midst of a fundamental readjustment of its organization. It will be some time before the broad outline of the new structure can take shape. Your deputation feels that it will therefore be advisable to postpone the visit of a deputation of a general administrative character at least until the spring of 1946 or until such time as the Christian leaders in Japan request such a visit. Lack of food and shelter and the necessity of depending entirely upon the facilities of the armed forces for accommodations would also argue against an early visit of another deputation. As the situation develops, different groups may request special deputations. Action on the part of any one of the Boards in this country will need be guided by such invitations as are received. There should also be the fullest consultation with the Japan Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference on the part of any Board or agency planning a deputation to Japan.

4. Missionaries. It will be seen from what has been said in our report that the majority opinion among Christian leaders is that there will be opportunity for large missionary service. In many of the schools a number of missionary teachers will be desired as soon as conditions permit. At the time of our visit church leaders had had little time to consider the matter and it was impossible for them to take any definite action. Furthermore, our deputation was not instructed to deal with

administrative matters and consequently we have no report to make on long-range policy.

The Japanese Christian leaders, however, were prepared to consider immediate first steps. The lack of housing and the scarcity of food weighed heavily in the consideration of the problem of the number of missionaries to be sent in the near future. It was felt that initially the number to go to Japan should be limited to eight or ten, one of these to be especially responsible for developing the relief program and one to be directly associated with church headquarters. It was felt that if these persons could go out very soon others could then be brought out as the situation developed. Here again individual institutions in Japan will undoubtedly make their desires known to individual Boards. As suggested above in another connection, it is hoped that in each case there will be full clearance with the Japan Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference, so that the principle of a joint approach to the whole problem, so warmly welcomed by the leaders in the Japanese Church, may be maintained at least until the nature of the new church organization in Japan becomes clear.

We therefore recommend that steps be taken immediately for a few well qualified missionaries to proceed to Japan at the earliest possible moment, one of these to be especially qualified to develop a relief program and one to act as a liaison between the church groups and the Allied authorities.

With regard to missionaries in the schools, it was the general understanding that request for teachers would be made to the Boards through the educational section of the church and the Japan Committee of the F.M.C. The relation of the Japan Committee to individual Boards in this connection will need to be left for decision as the situation develops and as the Boards related to the Committee may desire.

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This report tells the story of a distinguished mission by the first civilian group of Americans to visit Japan following the cessation of hostilities in 1945. The members of the deputation were:

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